/160 cont./

805 cold dry season,
warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

821 There is only one designation, a collective name, for the starry sky.

173 I have not been able to detect any traces of a "history." Only events going back at most two generations are transmitted as an oral tradition.

●172 The Auin know nothing about the Bushman drawings. At the watering place Kazupitzaub between Oas and Olifantskluft, in other words, in the Auin region, there are supposedly Bushman drawings on rock walls. The Auin call these drawings the "work of Satan." I should observe that this expression was given me by an interpreter who was unable to supply me with a better translation of the Bushman concept. In case I should once again go to this region, I shall report on this matter.

173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[154] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113]

1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bush-

[285] men in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in South Africa, 1910.)

[113]

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

[78 cont.]

it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should be added:

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

ORIGIN.

Evidence of a widespread primitive civilization is met with in South West Africa as in other parts of Southern Africa. There would appear to be but little reason to doubt that some branch of the Bushman family was originally associated with that civilization and that the Bushmen of to-day are descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of this sub-continent. The place and period of origin of the latter still remain unsolved. By some authorities it is maintained that in the remote past migration proceeded northwards and southwards from Central Africa; by others that a slow movement of the Aurignacians took place from Europe into and across Africa down to the Cape. On this subject Professor Sollas writes as follows: "It would thus appear that mural drawings, paintings or engravings, having many features in common, may be traced from the Dordogne across the Pyrenees into Spain, and beyond the Mediterranean into Morocco, Algeria, Oran and Egypt, over the Sahara, past the Victoria Nyanza, and thence on through Rhodesia, the Transvaal, and Orangia, to the southernmost extremity of Africa.

If, as their unity in subject and treatment suggests, these are all the work of the Bushmen or related tribes, then they afford precisely the kind of evidence which our hypothesis demands, and some of the Aurignacian people have really, as we supposed, passed in a slow migration across the whole of the broad territory which intervenes between Dordogne and the Cape. That the movement was towards the south is shown by the fact that the drawings become increasingly younger as we proceed in that direction. In France they are of Upper Palaeolithic age, in the north of Africa Neolithic, and in the south they are recent. From this again it follows that the migration must have occupied a long interval of time, during which the earth experienced more than one change of climate, and some of the animals which the artists took a special pleasure in depicting, such as the mammoth and the ancient Bubalus, became extinct.

We owe our knowledge of this great migration to a fortunate accident: had the passion for art which possessed the Bushmen been less strong or less enduring, it would probably have remained unsuspected to all time. It would be strange indeed if this were the sole migration of its kind; the chances are that it is but one among others, some of which may not be beyond our power to discover."

172
174
81

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 18

CHAPTER II

HISTORY, DISTRIBUTION, AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

BUSHMEN

Early History

174 THE Bushmen were long regarded as the earliest human inhabitants of South Africa, and as having occupied the country from times of remote antiquity. This belief, most fully expressed in Stow's classical work, *The Native Races of South Africa*,[1] was not without some foundation. Of the peoples of South Africa of whom there is any definite historical record, the Bushmen are certainly the oldest; the other native peoples show in their traditions that when they first entered the country they found the Bushmen already scattered over the greater part of its surface; while the relics of the Bushmen, such as rock paintings, rock engravings, and stone implements, are distributed over a far more extensive area than was occupied by the people themselves within historical times, and frequently occur under conditions which postulate some antiquity.

172 174 It has now become fully established, however, that the Bushmen were preceded in the occupation of South Africa by other peoples. Recent archæological investigation has shown that there existed in the country a number of different stone implement industries, clearly separated in time as well as in character.[2] These industries are grouped chronologically into the Earlier, Middle, and Later Stone Age Cultures. The stone implements and rock art associated with the Bushmen all belong to the Later Stone Age, and it is only in deposits of this Age that skeletal remains of the Bushmen have been found.

[1] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country* (London, 1905), chaps. i–ii.

[2] The most useful general account of the prehistoric cultures of South Africa and their northern affinities is by M. C. Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, which contains a good bibliography. Cf. also the valuable sketch by A. J. H. Goodwin, "The Stone Ages in South Africa," *Africa*, ii (1929), 174–82, and the recent series of monographs by Goodwin and Lowe on *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa* (Annals of the S. Afr. Museum, 27, 1929).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be regarded as previous to the Bushmen.

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archæological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2]

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro,

[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 116.
[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined.

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration.

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical

[1] Laing, op. cit., 906–7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Gear on "Strandlooper" remains from Zitzikama, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi–xxiii (1924–6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 862). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 180).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

532 Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the
● 172 Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings
[178] executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archæology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most
[135] of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, 1909; Moszeik, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zeliźko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 504–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Moszeik, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7. [4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41. [5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

The paintings are most frequently found on the walls of caves and rock shelters, occasionally on isolated rocks out in the open, and in a few rare instances, as we have seen, on small loose slabs of stone associated with cave burials. The engravings, on the other hand, occur as a rule on outstanding or outlying patches of rock out in the open. The mode of occurrence of these two forms of the art seems to have been determined by the nature of the rock surface available. Where the stone was soft or porous and provided large plane surfaces, paintings were generally made; where it was hard, and there was little prospect of the paints taking a good hold, engraving prevailed. This also explains to some extent why paintings are mostly found in the caves and rock shelters produced by the effects of erosion on the relatively soft shales or sandstones, while engravings are seen on the exposed surfaces of such hard rocks as quartzite, diorite, basalt, diabase, and phyllite.

The technical processes employed in the execution of the designs appear to have been fairly simple. As canvas the rock surface in its natural state was employed; broad plane surfaces were preferred, but where these were not at hand no trouble seems to have been taken either to polish the rough surface of the rock or to level it down in any way.

The only implements used in making the engravings were small pieces of hard stone with a fairly serviceable point. With these the artist would laboriously chip away at the rock surface until his design was completed. Some of the engravings consist of only an outline drawing produced by more or less rough pointing and punching, giving the design an appearance known as "pocked". The pocking is usually very shallow, but in some of the figures a comparatively deep groove has been made. Sometimes the outline is completely filled, so that the engraving consists in a design uniformly pocked over the surface. One also finds a continuous grooved outline combined with a shallow pocked body, and in the best specimens the rock surface surrounding the design has been chipped away, leaving a sort of bas-relief in which shading is often skilfully introduced. Some of the engravings in this style are very beautifully done, and it is indeed astonishing to what a degree of excellence the artists could attain, considering the material disadvantages under which they worked.

The paintings are on the whole superior to and more elaborate than the engravings, and offered more scope for freedom of expression.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Several different colours were used, the most common being red, black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat. The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia, but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome, so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome. Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been used to demarcate the various features of the object represented. Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly, and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless, that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance, that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most useful basis for the archaeological study of the paintings and engravings. [114]

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

[1] Op. cit., 116–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

172, 184, 532 of the preceding group. There are no polychromes. The figures for the most part are executed in a uniform bright red, almost vermilion, colour, and the rock background is also frequently reddened and smudgy as well. The animals are poorly drawn, the figures of human beings often large and angular, and the human hand is represented again and again, a feature never found in the Central group and not noted in Southern Rhodesia.

172, 532 The objects depicted in these paintings and engravings are for the most part animals and human beings, though inanimate objects also figure occasionally, such as weapons, clothes, shields, trees, etc. Representations of animals hunted as big game—elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, many varieties of antelope, especially the wildebeest and eland, lion, ostrich, and others—all figure very prominently, either singly or in groups. The fidelity with which they are often drawn testifies not only to the Bushman's skill as an artist, but also to his intimate familiarity with and acute observation of the habits and peculiarities of the animals upon which he depended for his subsistence. Exceedingly interesting are the bigger group scenes. Domestic occupations, hunting scenes, cattle raids, tribal fights, dances, even incidents in mythology, all are represented here in the most realistic manner and with a wealth of action. These pictures of scenes and events in Bushman life history, painted by the native artists upon the walls of the caves and rock shelters which they so often inhabited, are invaluable as a record of the conditions under which the old Bushmen lived, and they both illustrate and supplement the descriptions given of these people by outside observers.

The paintings and engravings in general are remarkable not only for their realism, for the fidelity and accuracy with which many of the animal forms are depicted, but also for a freedom from the limitations to delineation in profile characterizing for the most part the drawings of primitive peoples.[1] The aspect usually shown is the profile view, readily explained by the fact that this is the most striking as well as most complete single aspect of quadrupeds, and also happens to be the view that can most easily be represented on a plane surface. There are no drawings in absolute profile; the four legs are always shown, the animal usually being either in motion or in some attitude where this view is possible. Attitudes of a kind

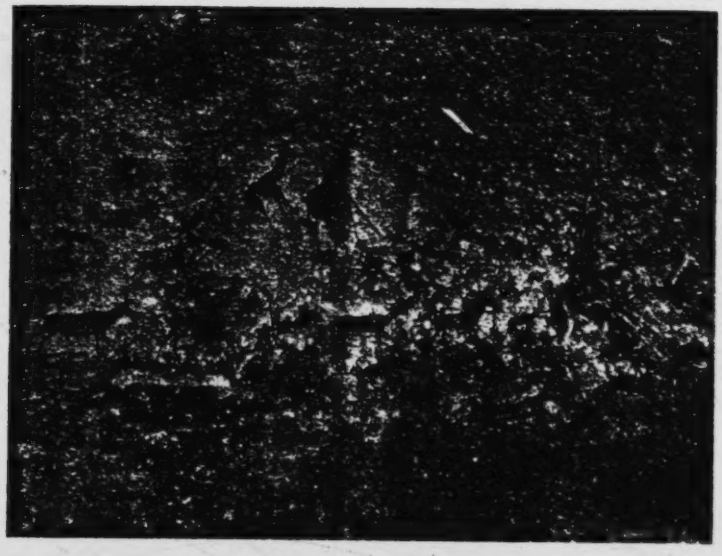
[1] An excellent critical appreciation of Bushman art is given by Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, 333–8; cf. Balfour, Preface (pp. 3–10) to Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

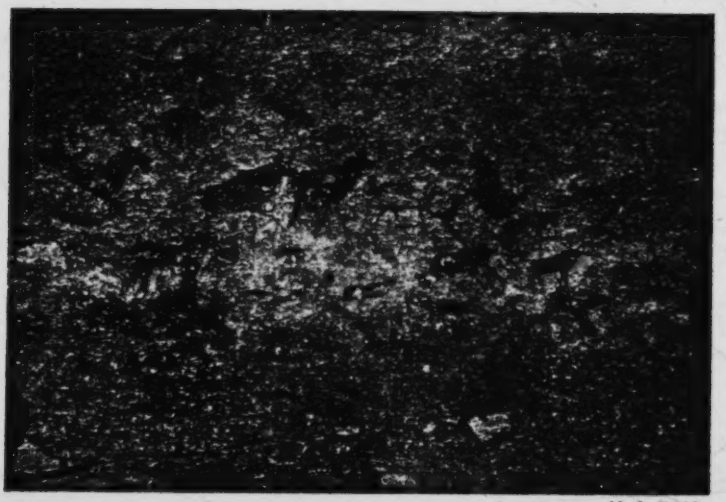
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE XIII

172
532



Painted Panel at Nswaguti, Matopos



M. C. Burkitt

Paintings at Domboshawa, near Salisbury
BUSHMAN PAINTINGS IN S. RHODESIA

(*facep.* 213

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

difficult to render were entered upon without hesitation, such as a kudu lying down or an eland turning its head round towards its back, and occasionally even an appreciation of the rudiments of perspective is to be noted, though only in a crude and uncertain form. The human figures are not so restricted to the profile aspect, but lack the accuracy and realism of the animal drawings. There seems to be a tendency here to impressionism, to seize on certain features of the body and to emphasize or exaggerate these, while others are minimized or ignored, and just sufficient is shown to indicate what the subject is. Often a man will appear all arms and legs and practically nothing else, while in women steatopygia is usually by far the most pronounced detail.

In addition to single figures and such compositions as a hunter pursuing game or several animals grouped together, there are the interesting series of big group scenes—of cattle drives, dances, and battles—to show very well indeed how the principle underlying Bushman art was fundamentally realism. There is nothing truly schematic in a Bushman drawing. In a battle scene, for instance, it is difficult to pick out the warriors of the two sides; they are all mixed up confusedly, some charging, others flying, and here and there single combats go on at a distance from the main battle. More than this, the men are shown in every conceivable attitude—running, standing, kneeling, crouching, or turning sharply round in the middle of flight to face the enemy once more. "In fact," says Fry, "we have, in all its confusion, all its indeterminate variety and accident, a rough silhouette of the actual appearance of such a scene as viewed from above, for the Bushman makes this sacrifice of actual appearance to lucidity of statement—that he represents the figures as spread out over the ground, and not as seen one behind the other."

In the art as a whole therefore we find a definite attempt to portray objects and scenes as they actually appear at the moment, and not as what they may be conceived as ideally. The aspects selected are always represented faithfully, and the pictures in general emphasize the unity of the representations rather than their details. Conventionalization in any shape is rare, and possibly the only departure from realism is in the case of human beings, where there is the tendency to impressionism.

172
532